

FROM PASEE TO SOUTHEAST ASIAN ISLAM: An archaeological semiotic study of shared symbols among Malays

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ABSTRACT

Historical accounts on the Sultanate of Malikussaleh and Southeast Asian Muslims are undertaken by many scholars. Looking meticulously to symbols and their meanings on Malikussaleh gravestones are, however, still given little attention. This article is an attempt to unearth the shift of Malays' culture and identity as the contribution of Samudera Pasee's to Southeast Asian Muslims. Underpinning by Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas theory on worldview of Islam, I argue that the coming of Islam in Southeast Asia is operated by Islamising locals symbols and language, which later develops new identity of Malays. By employing archeological semiotics analysis, I study symbols and ornaments carved in Samudera Pasee gravestones. This work has great contribution in understand the work of worldview of Islam in Malays' work and adds significantly of the works of scholars, such as Ottoman Yatim and Azumardi Azra on Malays' Islam and identity.

KEYWORDS

worldview of Islam; samudera pasee; cultural symbols

INTRODUCTION

It is undeniable that both Malaysians, along with other minor Malays in Southeast Asia, and Indonesians are Malays and are one in terms of Islamic culture and identity. The strong link between both is not only grounded in communalities of language, and also based on the acceptance of Islam as their identity. Islam has changed their language and thought and creates new culture guided by the worldview of Islam. This fact is however being the negligence by many scholars, as was explained by Azumardy Azra (Azra, 2004, p. 2).

Understanding the processes of transmission becomes more important in connection with the course of Islam in the Malay-Indonesian world. As it is

situated on the periphery of the Muslim world, there is a tendency among scholars to exclude the Malay-Indonesian world from any discussion of Islam. It is assumed that the region has no single stable core of Islamic tradition. Islam in the archipelago has long been regarded as not 'real Islam'. It is considered distinct from Islam in the centres in the Middle East. We will not, of course, ignore local influences on Islam in the archipelago, but one should not assume that Malay-Indonesian Islamic tradition has little to do with Islam in the Middle East.

There is a growing body of literature that recognises the importance of language as cultural system and symbols in a study of a society. Cultural symbols can play an important role in addressing the issue of Islam's role in remaking Malay's identity and standard (Al-Faruqi, 1974; Bhabha, 1994; Dewey, 1916; Hall, 1997). As there is abundant literature on Pasee as the nucleus society for Malays (Andaya, 2001; Iskandar, 2007; Reid, 2009; Riddell, 2006).

Azra (2004, p. 52) has successfully elaborated the roles of Ar-Raniry, As-Singkili and Al-Maqassari in formulating and developing Malay-Indonesia network to Middle East as the channel of transmission Islam. Stuart Hall (1997) has comprehensively explicated the way of language works to create a culture through the process of representation of the meaning from symbols.

In addressing Pasee's role in formulating Malays culture and identity, they, however, fail to elucidate how Islam becomes the catalyst for making new Malays and new cultural standards. In this article, I will articulate the worldview of Islam and how it works through Malays language, which takes place in Pasee Sultanate, remakes Malays' culture and identity by employing Al-Attas's theory of Islamising language and culture.

Grounded in archaeological semantic analysis of many symbols founded in Malikussaleh sites, I will address several questions relating this issues; what is language and symbols and what is the elements of language, finally what the meanings of symbols used in Malikussaleh gravestones (Batu Aceh) and their link to Islamisation of Malays.

THE SULTANATE SAMUDERA PASEE

Pasee is a Sultanate/Kingdom that no longer exists in the present time. Historical literature refers to Pasee as Samudera Pasee. Local people commonly shorten the name and only call it as Pasee. The greatness of this sultanate is sadly and deeply kept in the memory of the people who inhabit in North Aceh and Lhokseumawe. They are proudly called themselves as "*ureung Pasee*" while there is no formal name of the place in the local government record and official attribute to any region in Aceh.



The only window left for studying Pasee is the sites of grave stones (Batu Aceh used by Ottoman Yatim). There are various shapes and motifs of Batu Aceh, which mainly concentrate in North Aceh. Most of Sultan's and the elites of Pasee's tombs are located in Gampong Kuta Karang, and Beuringen Geudoeng and in Balee Balei, North Aceh.



The Sultan Malikussaleh Tomb stone is situated in Gampeong Beuringen. As shown on the picture, the gravestones are decorated with floral ornaments, Arabic calligraphy and geometric pattern. In additions to Malikussaleh gravestone, beside him lies Zainal Abidin grave stones with different type and shape.



The second sites of Malikussaleh elites are lain in Kuta Karang. The arrangement of gravestones and tombs are more sophisticated and complex.



The third sites are in Kuta Karang, Geudong. There are two locations of the gravestones, which every place sets about 50 graves. Those gravestones look simpler than the other two mentioned earlier.



On the other hand, the panacea greatness of Pasee resounds all heritage of Islamic civilisation in Southeast Asia. The name of Pasee is not only noticeable, but was the outset of Southeast Asian Islam and culture.

Al-Attas notices us the importance of the name “Samudera Pasee” as the fact to understand Samudera Pasee roots in Malay’s culture and civilisation. He views that many scholars misspell the name “Samudera”, since it was documented from different scholars, whose pronunciation of the word is influenced by their vocal origins, such as Chinese, Arabic and Indian language. He establishes, however, their pronunciations of the word all sound “t” instead of “d” in the word; Samudera. He therefore the word Samudera should be derived from semut-*raya*; Semutra and Samudra is misleading word, that correctly should pronounce Samutra Pasee (Al-Attas, 2011).

Although they disagree about the first place Islam came, local and global scholars seek a consensus that Samudera Pasee is the first kingdom of Islam in Southeast Asia founded during 8th and 9th centuries (Al-Attas, 2011, pp. 1–41; Al-Faruqi, 1974; Hamka, 2016; Ibn-Bathuthah, 2009; Muhammad, 2015). Al-Attas argues that the coming of Islam to Samudera Pasee is the result of the Caliph Utsman’s order to Sharif Mecca to send missionaries there. However, the history of Malikussaleh becomes obscure because of the negligence of language and “to their

inability to decipher or read the many other broken or worn inscriptions on tombstones (Al-Attas, 2011, p. 16)”

Al-Attas (2011, p. 37-38) views that Fansur (Barus), Lamri, Aru, Perlak and Samara are the locations of Samudera Pasee kingdom. Andaya (Andaya, 2001) has precisely described the role of Pasee in history as the “standard” Islam of Southeast Asia. Not so much difference, Riddell (Riddell, 2006) calls it as the catalyst of Southeast Asian culture.

Responding to Al-Attas arguments and the other gap of Acehese art study, this article is an attempt to interpret the symbols carved on those gravestones which are located in three locations mentioned above.

LANGUAGE AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SEMIOTICS EYES ON THE SYMBOLS

Semiotics is known as a new method using in the study of cultural resources. Although there are different views exist pertaining the technics of doing semiotic works, the majority of semiotic theorists agree that the work of semiotic analysis is essentially based on language theories and their relation to the practice of culture (Barthes, 1972, 1982; Corrington, 2003; Fairclough, 1995; Johansen & Larsen, 2002; Preucel, 2006). In this section, I discuss philosophical insight on language and its relation to symbols and culture, then I conclude how the symbols become instrument for knowledge.

John Dewey (1916), Stuart Hall (1997), and Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas (2014, 2015) are of the opinion that language is fundamental and basis of culture. There is no culture without language. Concerning this, Dewey adds:

Language is, as we have already seen a case of this joint reference of our own action and that of another to a common situation. A child sees persons with whom he lives using chairs, hats, tables, spades, saws, plows, horses, money in certain ways. If he has any share at all in what they are doing, he is led thereby to use things in the same way, or to use other things in a way which will fit in. If a chair is drawn up to a table, it is a sign that he is to sit in it; if a person extends his right hand, he is to extend his; and so on in a never ending stream of detail. The prevailing habits of using the products of human art and the raw materials of nature constitute by all odds the deepest and most pervasive mode of social control (Dewey, 1924, p. 20).

According to Dewey (1939b), language has deterministic influence on individuality. While language is the element of culture, no individual is fully free from the cultural systems. They depend on the people around them to acquire social capacities, in particular, the ability of representing the real world through language. He adds:

..... the sound h-a-t gains meaning in precisely the same way that the thing "hat" gains it, by being used in a given way. And they acquire the same meaning with the child which they have with the adult because they are used in a common experience by both. The guarantee for the same manner of use is found in the fact that the thing and the sound are first employed in a joint activity, as a means of setting up

an active connection between the child and a grownup. Similar ideas or meanings spring up because both persons are engaged as partners in an action where what each does depend upon and influences what the other does. (Dewey, 1924, p. 12)

Regarding a word or language and how it gains meaning constructively, Dewey explains that it is only possible through experience in which representation occurs. By experiencing the same conceptual map and share the same meaning, people will recognise mentally between each other. He articulates:

Thus the words in which a child learns about, say, the Greek helmet originally got a meaning (or were understood) by use in an action having a common interest and end. They now arouse a new meaning by inciting the one who hears or reads to rehearse imaginatively the activities in which the helmet has its use. For the time being, the one who understands the words "Greek helmet" becomes mentally a partner with those who used the helmet. He engages, through his imagination, in a shared activity (Dewey, 1924, p. 12)

Dewey adds that if there is a lack of experience, the meaning will not be able to be shared perfectly. As a result, the meaning of the word will not be constructed that resulted the culture perfectly because some members of that culture have perceived imperfect meaning. Dewey provides a good example of it concerning "Greek helmet":

It is not easy to get the full meaning of words. Most persons probably stop with the idea that "helmet" denotes a queer kind of headgear a people called the Greeks once wore. We conclude, accordingly, that the use of language to convey and acquire ideas is an extension and refinement of the principle that things gain meaning by being used in a shared experience or joint action; in no sense does it contravene that principle:12.

However, Dewey has argued much further than the latter cultural theorists. He shows that it is necessary to find the constituent of culture. Many theorists have proposed their views on its constituent. According to Dewey, Karl Marx, for instance, suggests that the mode of production which exists in the relation of labours and their masters is the fundamental element of culture, whereas many liberal theorists argue that the constituent of culture is individuality, which is manifested in personal's emotions, self-interest, pleasure, pain, and sympathy, political interests, and loving power or freedom are the ultimate motive of forming human culture (Dewey, 1939b).

Dewey rejects these ideas of a monistic type of cultural constituent, arguing that there is not only one element that shapes a culture, but various aspects, which converge in human habit (Dewey, 1939b). Since culture consists of every day human interactions, beliefs, customs, meanings, modes of perception and action, it is impossible to find a community without culture. Even though culture is ubiquitous, it is subject to change, development and reconstruction in different times and spaces. The logical consequence of this is that culture cannot be defined

and known absolutely and universally. In regard to my research question, I will employ the concept culture and identity which are proposed by Stuart Hall and enriched its meaning using Dewey's ideas to understand the representation of Acehese culture and identity within the practice schooling in Aceh.

Hall (1997b) explains that language is the sense of broader meaning. It is a sign, which gives and holds meaning. The sign can be anything: object, sound, image, colour, symbol, banner, word, music, dance, or everything that human uses to produce meanings. Since it gives and holds meaning, object, sound, image, colour, symbol, banner, word, music are the signifying practice. They are the system of representation. Hall (1997a, p. 5) explains:

Thus photography is a representational system, using images on light-sensitive paper to communicate photographic meaning about particular person, event or scene. Exhibition or display in a museum or gallery can also be thought of as 'like a language', since it uses objects on display to produce certain meanings about the subject-matter of the exhibition. Music is 'like a language', since uses musical notes to communicate feelings and ideas, even if these are very abstract, and do not refer in any obvious way to the 'real world'.

Language does not completely connect with the world. In other words, the word "table" does not relate inherently to a rectangle of wood with four poles. The connection between them is only arbitrary, which is determined by the code of representation (Hall, 1997b).

On the other hand, many traditional theorists view that the notion of culture has an essentialist meaning. They believe that culture has an objective, universal and monistic meaning. For instance, Tylor, have defined culture as the higher complexity of human lives. It is a term to refer to mental, physical and spiritual states which include individual and social life comprised of many aspects of human activities, such as knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits are acquired by man as a member of society (Tylor, 1903, p. 1). Many anthropologists have adopted Tylor's notion of culture, including Ernst, Kluckhohn and Kontjaningrat (Gramsci & Hoare, 1977; Tylor, 1903, Kontjaningrat, 1990, Kluckhohn 1953, Ernst 1946). They believe that culture is classified into lower and higher culture. They mean by the higher culture is the culture that belongs to elite group or high class of a society and conversely, they identify the low culture that is produced by uneducated, non-elite group of society.

In contrast to traditionalist perspective, both Dewey and Hall reject the dualist conception of culture. They disagree with the classification of culture into the high and the low culture (Dewey, 1939b; Hall, 1990a, 1996a, 1997a, 1997d). Dewey holds a view toward culture and identity which is constructed subjectively. He sees culture as common knowledge, values, ideas and practices that are constructed through a process of communal inquiry or conjoint action and, thus, are intersubjective in that they incorporate and reflect and subjectivities of many different people (Bleazby, 2009; Dewey, 1957, 1963, 1966).

Like Dewey, the post-colonialists' view of culture is opposed to essentialist notions of culture. Post-colonialists emphasise the non-absolute, changeable, continual and constructed nature of culture (Bhabha, 1994; Freire, 1972a, 1974a; Grossberg, 1996a; Hall, 1980a, 1996b).

For instance, Freire defined culture as "...the actions and results of human in society, the way people interact in their communities, and the addition people make to the world they find. Culture is what ordinary people do every day, how they behave, speak, relate and make things" (1997, p. ?). If Freire emphasise that daily activities as a culture, Hall advances that definition by accentuating that cultural activities are located within the practices of representation.

According to Hall, although there are a great range of definitions of culture, the notion of culture must be viewed in a discourse of language, it has to be defined within the work of representation. Hall argues that culture must be understood in relation to representation, because culture is a product of representation. Culture is formed within the discursive practice, which works through three elements, the system of language, the system of concept, and cultural code. Based on this understanding, Hall (1997b) has radically changed the definition of culture from essentialist meaning to constructivist one. As the nature of the constructivism, culture should be defined as the "shared meanings, conceptual maps and cultural code". Thus, people from the same culture will have a common way to interpret the world, since they have the same system of representation; conceptual map and language code.

Hall describes that the young generation learns their culture through the acquisition of the cultural systems; conceptual map, language and language code, and the consent of representation. He posits:

This what children learn, and how they become, not simply biological individuals but cultural subjects. They learn the systems and conceptions of representation, the code of their language and culture, which equip them with cultural know-how enabling them to function as culturally competent subjects. Not because such knowledge is imprinted in their genes, but because they learn its conventions and gradually become 'cultured persons'-i. e. members of their culture(Hall, 1997e).

Furthermore, those elements, language, mental concept systems and the code, are not individual, but are constructed collectively; this is referred to as cultural construction. This is the product of social consensus.

Pertaining the way of semiotic analysis on the symbols carved on gravestones as the media of seeking knowledge might be seen as ridiculous attempt, in particular, to understanding the discourse of religiosity of Aceh. through the windows of arts, such as Acehnese sculpture. I believe that research on arts can provide us great pictures of human experiences, in particular, it can depicts us a "tale" of historical experiences of a community, such as their religious experiences, piety, and conflicts as the flux and reflux of Acehnese religiosity. Peirce told us that arts/symbols are the instrument for representation. Although arts is unable to provide us an

objective knowledge since arts cannot represent of an object precisely, symbols, however, have a great use to bring valuable sources for discussion and reinterpretation of a research object. Regarding this view, Eisner states about Peirce's opinion on researching arts as follow:

If, however, one takes the view that the dominant function of arts in research is not necessarily to provide a precise referent for a specific symbol connected by a conventional interpretant, but rather to provide an evocative image that generates the conditions for new telling, questions and for fruitful discussion (Eisner, p: 9).

In additions, art expressions have immense contributions to provide us historical knowledge. Langer (Susanne K. Langer, 1958) views that knowledge can be classified into discursive and non-discursive knowledge and accordingly, Eisner (Eisner, 2007) sees that knowledge is might be related to a matter of 'know how' and 'know that'. Arts have great contribution to knowledge. According to Eisner, arts have several contributions to knowledge. There are firstly, providing a nuances of social situations, secondly, bringing emphatic feelings, thirdly giving fresh perspective to the objects and finally the arts let the audiences experience that knowledge (Eisner p.: 10-11).

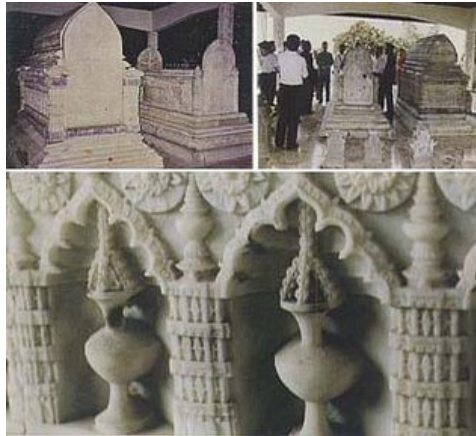
Accordingly, Robert W. Preucel (Preucel, 2006) reminds us about the significance of semiotics to discover historical facts. Similar to religion, arts are the necessity for a society; where there is no society exists without arts. The reliability of art to be considered as a source of knowledge is debatable. Many scholars, such as Langer (1957) and Eisner (2007) argue the crucial role of artwork as a valuable source of knowledge. According to Eisner (Eisner, 2007, pp. 10-11), this is possible for several important reasons; firstly arts can be seen as texts, where qualitative nuances can be found. This nuance brings an awareness and understanding of human experiences. Secondly, arts can evoke empathy feeling that arts do not only give knowledge, but arts also contribute live experience. Finally, arts also create fresh view and perception on an object, which make the knowledge derived is stronger and impression.

SHARED SYMBOLS AND CULTURAL STANDARD

Having collected data from the three sites of Samudera Pasee, I found three symbols and language that formulate and develop Malay culture and identity as the entity of being Muslim, those are as the following list:

Lamp sky; Miskah

Lamp sky or Miskah by using the term proposed by Taquiuddin (Muhammad, 2015) is the most notable symbol carved in Samudera Pasee's gravestones. This symbol is unique and only found in the second location of Malikussaleh gravestones.



The existing accounts on Samudera Pasee fail to give adequate attention on this symbol. Kreemer's work (1922) on Acehese art and culture, for instance, demonstrates us the basic shapes and forms of Acehese sculpture are flowery shapes and forms as shown below;

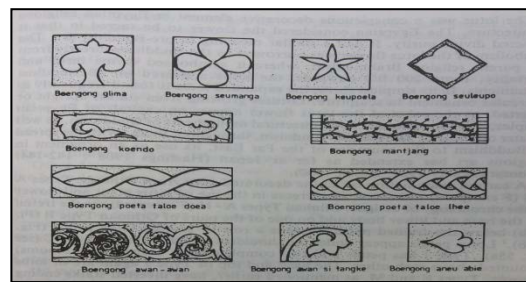


Figure 1. The figure indicates the basic artistic forms and shapes, which are developed from tree flowers and leaves, cited from Kreemer in Yatim, 1988: 91

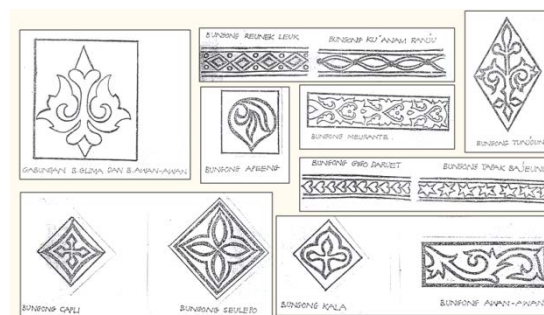


Figure 2 the pictures show basic sculpture of Acehese arts, which are inspired by local leaves and flowers, such as awan-awan flower, Glima flower, tanjong flower
 Kreemer's work as shown in the two charts above suffers from the fact that he excludes the lamp-sky symbols. In the contemporary time, both Margaret Kartomi

and Barbara Leigh pay great attention to Acehnese arts, but they also fail to take lamp-sky symbol into account.

In her study on Acehnese dances, Kartomi (2010) argues that Acehnese dances were influenced mainly by sufist worldview, such as the influence of Ibn Arabi's teaching.

I argue that the origin and development of the sitting (duek) song-dances (performed in the prostrated sitting position of Muslim prayer) and the frame-drum genres were motivated by dakwah and fostered by the tarèkat (Sufi brotherhoods) and the Sufi movement generally (p. 84).

In the same vein, Leigh establishes similar argument pertaining Acehnese visual arts. She identifies that Acehnese motifs are classified into five dominant categories; floral and leafy motifs, birds; peacock, and lion, an abundance of geometric motifs and Islamic motifs, e. g., crescent, star and Arabic calligraphy (Leigh, 1982, p. 7). Leigh's explanation on those motifs is absent to include the lamp-sky motif.

Yet, this motif is shared as the communal description of muslims in Malays. Yatim (Yatim, 1988) explains that the motif is also carved in several gravestones in Malaysia, Patani, Gresik (Indonesia) and other malays' sites. The motif symbolises the shift of Muslim community from "darkness" into "lightness" as the lamp functions to bring light.

Lotus

If lamp-sky is the unique symbol, which only found and shared in the historical era of Islamisation in Southeast Asia, lotus is the motif that is shared and used by entire Malays culture and still pertains until today.



Figure1 Complete blossom lotus on a grave stone in Blang Salek, Paya Bakoeng, North Aceh

Lotus is the symbol used across many civilisations in the world. It dates as old as oldest civilisation recorded in the history. In ancient Egypt, the flower is subject to religious symbolism. Yatim elucidates the significant use of the motif across world civilisation:

From 200 BC onwards, the lotus appeared on all Buddhist monuments. In its simplest form, the expanded lotus is found frequently as a circular ornament in sculpture. Lotus growing from stalks, upright or inverted, or the calyx of the lotus flower appear on capitals of Egyptian temples, e. g. Memphis and in architectural monuments of Buddhism, as well as later on those of Jainism and Hinduism, throughout India. With the spread of Buddhism to the countries of the Far East, its use as an ornament in religious art has extended as far as Japan (Yatim, 1988, p. 92)



It is undeniable that the use of lotus in many different cultures has been inextricably linked to religious spiritual journey, whereas in Malays, the use has shifted to meet the worldview of Islam



The worldview of Islam has adjusted the concept of lotus to the concept of religion in Islam.



Two Bunches of Banana of Banana Plant

Similar to lamp-sky symbol, banana plant that grows two bunches of bananas is unique and was solely used in Samudera Pasee's symbol.



The symbol signifies the wealthy and welfare of the Samudera Pasee kingdom. Banana tree has great use for the people, that every part of it is edible and useful for domestic needs. Most importantly, it only fruits a bunch of bananas.



Yet, the two sets of Banana fruit is not a myth, but it is the symbol that welfare and wealthy of the kingdom.

SYMBOLS AS LANGUAGE AND THE SHIFT MALAYS LANGUAGE

As seen earlier, three symbols presented above are forms of language that has Islamised and adapted to worldview of Islam. The symbols have shown the historical process of Islamisation through language. Al-Attas (2011, p. xvi) disagrees many historians that they do not regard language as a valuable historical resources; “Historians of the Archipelago have never considered language as an important source material for the study of history”. Al-Attas establishes that Malays language is of Jambi origin, where the kingdom of Sriwijaya took place. He views that the first Malay language was not yet Islamised, and has “no written form of its own” (Al-Attas 2011, p. xv), that convey Hinduism and Buddhism worldview.

He and other scholars argue that the language was developed in Pasee during the process of coming Islam. By the coming Islam to Pasee, Islam changes the meaning of Malay words/symbols, e. g, lamp-sky, and lotus, into the meanings/concepts that are relevant and compatible to the worldview of Islam.

Al-Attas emphasises profoundly on this fact, by arguing that:

The force that moved the genius of the Malay being to create their own *new* language by taking the best words from all the languages of neighbourhood was the emergence of Islam from within that being. It was due Islam also that knowlegde and use this new Malay language, not only a lingua franca for international trade and commerce, but more importantly asa literary and scientific language (Al-Attas, 2011, P. xv-xvi).

To make it clear enough, language, including symbols, is, here, must be seen not a merely the chunk of words that make it understood. I mean by language here in more profound sense that involve meaning/concept, word, things and code. In the other word, when we say “Sembahyang” it does only consist of letters; s-e-m-b-a-h-y-a-n-g, but also implies meaning as the concept of the word. The relation of the word to its meaning necessitates “code” that makes it understood.

Stuart Hall (Hall, 1997) deliberately explains that the words, concept/meaning, things and code are the element of making language understood. He points it by giving an example of a glass:

“if you put down a glass you are holding and walk out of the room, you can still think about the glass, even though it is no longer physically there. Actually, you can’t think with a glass. You can only think with the concept of the glass”(Hall, 1997e, p. 17).

Looking closely to those four elements of language, Hall argues that only code and concept are the system of culture. Al-Attas refers to this code that makes change of a concept as “a manifestation of unity in diversity as well as of diversity in unity” (Al-Attas 2011, p. xv). Likewise, the adoption of lotus and lamp-sky is the manifestation of unity of locality to conceptual map/worldview of Islam.

Hall establishes that culture is the production of language activities. He views that culture is conceptual map that is embedded in words, things and code. Language is therefore, the foundation of culture. Analysing the proses of inventing and

developing Malay language through the coming of Islam is clearly understood by looking at the change of the code of Malay language. Syed Naquib Al-Attas has elaborated more deeply regarding the process of shifting the code as the process of Islamising Malay language.

He views that the coming of Islam to Pasee cannot be adequately evidenced by the existence of artefacts, as so the literature documents. It is rather more convincable by the analysing the change of Malay language, which shown the change of conceptual map.

CONCLUSION

Responding to the questions ealier, the coming Islam to Samudera Pasee has great role in developing Malay language through the process of Islamisation of language. Language is not only meant as words, but it also includes symbols, such lamp-sky, lotus and banana plant. The worldview of Islam has changed Malay language to become literary and scientific language which took place in Samudera Pasee.

Malay language, which is originated and developed in Samudera Pasee, has, therefore, not only changed culture of the Malays, but also changed the worldview of the people as the turning to Muslim of Southeast Asians. This turning can be seen vividly from the shift of cultural code, that determines a concept to indiginous words. Those words stand the same, but on the level of code, they already changed to become Islamic conceptual maps, such the words; *dosa*, *syurga*, *petala*, *sembahyang*.

Lamp-sky, lotus and banana plant are religious symbols, which are linked to worldview of the people. In Samudera Pasee, the symbols have been shifted to meet the worldview of Islam. This change of symbols sygnifies the process of Islamisation. In additions, through Pasee, abundant Arabic vocabularies enrich Malay words that make it different to “Old Malay language”.

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